

Message Text

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FM USDEL SECRETARY IN BONN

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 01 OF 12 SECTO 06046

NODIS

FROM THE SECRETARY TO EAGLEBURGER AND BREMER ONLY

E.O. 11652: AGDS 12-31-75

TAGS: NONE

SUBJ: GLOBAL CHALLENGE AND INTERNATIONAL COOPERATION

1. THE SECRETARY HAS ASKED FOR EAGLEBURGER'S
COMMENTS ON THE ENCLOSED DRAFT. BEGIN DRAFT:

GLOBAL CHALLENGE AND INTERNATIONAL COOPERATION

WE, IN AMERICA, IN THIS GENERATION, LIVE IN ONE
OF THESE RARE PERIODS OF HISTORY WHEN MAN HAS THE

OPPORTUNITY TO DECIDE HIS FUTURE. IN A WORLD OF COM-
PLEXITY AND TURMOIL, AN OLD ORDER IS BREAKING DOWN:
BUT WE HAVE BEGUN TO SHAPE A NEW STRUCTURE MORE EMBRAC-
ING AND MORE SECURE. IF WE HAVE THE VISION AND THE
COURAGE, WE CAN TURN THIS INTO A PERIOD OF UNPARALLELED
CREATIVITY.

I HAVE NO DOUBT WHAT AMERICA'S CHOICE WILL BE.
TEN DAYS AGO AMERICA BEGAN TO CELEBRATE 200 YEARS
OF HISTORY'S MOST STRIKING DEMONSTRATION OF WHAT A FREE
PEOPLE CAN ACHIEVE. THIRTY YEARS AGO, WORLD WAR II
ENDED, AND THE UNITED STATES BEGAN THE POSTWAR ERA OF
ITS FIRST SUSTAINED PEACETIME LEADERSHIP IN INTERNA-
TIONAL AFFAIRS. WE RESPONDED TO CHALLENGE WITH A BURST
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OF CREATIVE ENERGY, BUILDING ALLIANCES AND INSTITUTIONS

OF INTERNATIONAL COOPERATION THAT HAVE MAINTAINED PEACE
AND PROSPERITY GLOBALLY FOR A GENERATION.

NOW WE AGAIN STAND AT A TIME OF TESTING. GLOBAL
PEACE AND AMERICA'S SECURITY, GLOBAL PROGRESS AND
PROSPERITY PEND DECISIVELY ON THE
DECISIONS WE A NATION WILL TAKE AS WE MOVE INTO OUR
THIRD CENTURY.

RECENT YEARS HAVE TAUGHT US STARKLY THAT STRIFE IN
THE WORLD THREATENS AMERICAN LIVE AND THAT ECONOMIC
DISLOCATION ELSEWHERE CAN JEOPARDIZE AMERICAN PROSPERITY.

BUILDING PEACE IS THUS A CHALLENGE THAT TOUCHES
EVERY AMERICAN.

IT IS THIS CHALLENGE I WANT TO ADDRESS TONIGHT.
AND CAUSE INTERNATIONAL COOPERATION IS A CRUCIAL
DIMENSION AND BECAUSE WE WILL SOON PARTICIPATE IN VERY
IMPORTANT INTERNATIONAL MEETINGS, I WILL PAY PARTICULAR
ATTENTION TO THE MOST PROMINENT ORGANIZATION FOR GLOBAL
COOPERATION--THE UNITED NATIONS.

THE STRUCTURE OF PEACE

WHEN WEAPONS SPAN CONTINENTS IN MINUTES, OUR
SECURITY IS BOUND UP WITH WORLD PEACE. WHEN OUR
FACTORIES, FARMS AND FINANCIAL STRENGTH ARE DEEPLY
AFFECTED BY DECISIONS TAKEN IN FOREIGN LANDS OUR
PROSPERITY IS LINKED TO WORLD PROSPERITY. AND AMERICANS
HAVE A MORAL COMMITMENT, WHICH IS PART OF OUR HERITAGE,
TO WORK FOR AN INRNATIONAL COMMUNITY IN WHICH THE
BASIC HUMAN FREEDOMS THAT WE CHERISH CAN FLOURISH ELSEWHERE.

WE HAVE REASON TO BE PROUD OF WHAT OUR NATION
HAS ACCOMPIISHED. WE HAVE MAINTAINED THE BALANCE OF
STABILITY IN THE WORLD ENSURING THE SECURITY AND IN-
DEPENDENCE OF SCORES OF NATIONS. WE HAVE EXPENDED
BLOOD AND TREASURE IN THE DEFENSE OF FREEDOM. WITH OUR
CONTRIBUTIONS OUR MAJOR ALLIES REGAINED THEIR STRENGTH
A GLOBAL TRADING AND MONETARY SYSTEM WAS BUILT WHICH
SUSTAINED AND SPREAD PROSPERITY WORLD-WIDE. THE NEW
AND POORER MEMBERS OF THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY WON
INDEPENDENCE AND LAUNCHED THEMSELVES ON THE ROAD TO
PROGRESS. CONFLICTS WERE CONTAINED AND MANY LONG-
STANDING DISPUTESSETLED BY PEACEFUL MEANS, AT OUR
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INITIATIVE. GLOBAL WAR WAS AVOIDED.

WE HAVE PROVIDED MORE ECONOMIC ASSISTANCE THAN ANY
OTHER COUNTRY. HAVE CONTRIBUTED MORE FDOD, EDUCATED
MORE PEOPLE FROM OTHER LANDS, AND WELCOMED MORE IM-
MIGRANTS AND REFUGEES. WE HAVE DONE SO BECAUSE WE ARE

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FM USDEL SECRETARY IN BONN

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 02 OF 12 SECTO 06046

NODIS

A GENEROUS NATION FOR WHICH NEED NOT APOLOGIZE, BUT
ABOVE ALL BECAUSE WE UNDERSTOOD THAT OUR SELF-INTEREST
WAS BOUND UP WITH THE FATE OF THE PLANET.

OUR VERY SUCCESSES HAVE BROUGHT GREAT CHANGE AND
WITH IT THE POTENTIAL FOR GREAT CREATION. THE OLD COLD
WAR CONSTELLATION HAS FRAGMENTED A NEW DIFFUSION OF
POWER AND WEALTH, IDEOLOGY AND PURPOSE HAS TRANSFORMED
THE INTERNATIONAL SCENE. THE REEMERGENCE OF EUROPE AND
JAPAN, RIVALRY AMONG THE COMMUNIST POWERS, THE GROWTH
OF MILITARY TECHNOLOGIES, THE RISE AND INCREASING
DIVERSITY OF THE DEVELOPING NATIONS HAVE SHAPED A NEW
INTERNATIONAL ENVIRONMENT-- A WORLD OF MULTIPLE CENTERS
OF POWER, OF IDEOLOGICAL DIFFERENCES BOTH OLD AND NEW,
CLOUDED BY NUCLEAR PERIL AND MARKED BY NEW ECONOMIC AND
SPECIAL IMPERATIVES ON A GLOBAL SCALE.

THE GLOBAL AGENDA NOW BEFORE US IS VAST AND
COMPELLING. THE BASIC REQUIREMENTS OF OUR SECURITY
REMAIN.

--WE MUST ABOVE ALL NEVER LOSE SIGHT OF THE NEED TO
BUILD A NEW STRUCTURE OF PEACE.

--WE MUST MAINTAIN OUR DEFENSES, AND ON THIS BASIS
SEEK REALISTICALLY TO MODERATE TENSIONS WITH OUR
ADVERSARIES.

--WE MUST HELP TO RESOLVE REGIONAL CONFLICTS.
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--WE MUST STOP THE SPIRAL AND SPREAD OF NUCLEAR WEAPONS.

-- WE MUST LOOK TO OUR ECONOMIC HEALTH AND REBUILD THE ECOHDMIC SYSTEM. MUST RESTORE THE PATTERN OF STABLE GROWTH, ENSURE THE COLLABORATION AND MUTUAL SUPPORT OF THE INDUSTRIAL NATIONS IN THE FIELD OF ERGY, AND ENGAGE THE PRODUCING NATIONS IN A CONSTRUCTIVE RELATIONSHIP IN WHICH ALL NATIONS WILL HAVE AN EQUITABLE PART.

--WE MUST SHAPE A WORLD ECONOMY RESPONSIVE TO THE ASPIRATIONS OF MANKIND.

THE NEW WORLD HAS GREAT POTENTIAL FOR CHAOIS-- OR FOR CREATIVITY. THE FOREIGN POLICY OF THE UNITED STATES THUS HAS AS ITS CENTRAL FOCUS TO HELP SHAPE A NEW INTERNATIONAL STRUCTURE, BASED ON EQUILIBRIUM RATHER THAN CONFRONTATION, BANDING NATIONS TOGETHER BY PRACTICES OF COOPERATION REFLECTING THE REALITY OF OUR INTERDEPENDENCE AND THE ULTIMATE FULFILLMENT OF NATIONAL OBJECTIVES.

TO BE STRONG ABROAD BE STRONG IN OUR POWER AND IN OUR PURPOSE.

TO PRESERVE PEACE,OUR MILITARY STRENGTH MUST BE BEYOND CHALLENGE. OUR ADVERSARIES WILL NOT CURTAIL THEIR AMBITIONS OR MODERATE THEIR ACTIONS UNLESS IT IS CLEAR THAT ANY OTHER COURSE IS TOO PERILOUS.

TO PROMOTE GLOBAL PROSPERITY OUR DOMESTIC ECONOMY MUST BE HEALTHY. UNLESS AMERICANS CAN LOOK FORWARD WITH OPTIMISM TO PROSPEROUS FUTURE FOR THEMSELVES AND THEIR FAMILIES, CONFIDENCE WILL WITHER AND RESENTMENT WILL FOSTER ISOLATIONISM.

AND SO TO CARRY FORWARD OUR INTERNATIONAL EFFORTS WE MUST BE A UNITED PEOPLE, CONFIDENT IN OUR PURPOSES AND DETERMINED TO BUILD ON THE GREAT ACHIEVEMENTS OF OUR NATIONAL HERITAGE.

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DEBATE IS THE BEDROCK OF OUR DEMOCRACY. BUT WHEN WE ARGUE AMONGST OURSELVES WE ARE TALKING TO FELLOW-COUNTRYMEN-- NOT ENEMMIES. SO IN OUR NATIONAL DIALOGUE

IT IS TIME TO PUT AN END TO RANCOR AND DIVISIVENESS
LET US ALWAYS REMEMBER THAT
HOWEVER WE MAY DISAGREE, EACH OF US WANTS THE BEST FOR
HIS COUNTRY AND THAT OUR COUNTRY IS THE HOPE OF THE
WORLD.

IN OUR APPRACH TO THE WORLD, OUR FIRST RESPONSIBILITY IS TO THE GREAT INDUSTRIAL DEMOCRACIES WITH WHOM

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 03 OF 12 SECTO 06046

NODIS

WE SHARE TIES OF HISTORY, COMMERCE AND POLITICAL VALUES.
OUR ALLIANCES REMAIN THE CORNERSTONE OF OUR FOREIGN
POLICY. WE HAVE STRENGTHENED OUR TIES WITH OUR
ATLANTIC PARTNERS AND JAPAN AND HAVE BEGUN A NEW DIALOGUE
IN THE WESTERN HEMISPHERE. OUR ALLIANCES WERE
FORMED AS A RESPONSE TO A MILITARY THREAT. TODAY A
SIMILAR COMMUNITY OF INTERESTS IS EVIDENT ACROSS A
BROAD RANGE OF OTHER ENDEAVORS, SUCH AS ENERGY, ECONOMIC
GROWTH, OUR TRADE AND MONETARY SYSTEM, SCIENTIFIC
AND TECHNOLOGICAL COOPERATION, PROTECTION OF THE ENVIRONMENT,
AND ADDRESSING THE SOCIAL PROBLEMS OF
MODERN INDUSTRIALIZED SOCIETIES. THUS OUR ALLIANCES
FIND A NEW MEANING TODAY, DECADES AFTER THEY WERE
FORMED, IN THE CONTEXT OF TODAY'S CHALLENGE, NOT
YESTERDAY'S.

THE ULTIMATE OBJECTIVE OF OUR ALLIANCES HAS ALWAYS
BEEN NOT TO MAKE PERMANENT THE DIVISIONS OF THE WORLD
BUT TO SEEK TO MITIGATE THEM. THE TASK OF THIS GENERATION,
INDEED ONE OF THE CENTRAL TASKS OF OUR FOREIGN

POLICY, IS TO ACHIEVE A MORE PEACEFUL RELATIONSHIP WITH THE COMMUNIST POWERS. THE CAN BE NO PEACE UNLESS THE SOVIET UNION AND THE UNITED STATES CONDUCT THEMSELVES WITH RESTRAINT, THERE IS NO HOPE OF A BETTER WORLD UNLESS THEY USE THEIR ENORMOUS POWER FOR THE BENEFIT OF MANKIND.

IN THE PAST FEW YEARS THE UNITED STATES, ALONG WITH
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ITS ALLIES, HAS TAKEN A NUMBER OF STEPS TO RESOLVE CONCRETE PRBLEMS WITH THE SOVIET UNION AND LAY THE BASIS FOR A MORE POSITIVE RELATIONSHIP. THE ACCORDS LIMITING STRATEGIC ARMS; THE SETTLEMENT OVER BERLIN; THE NEGOTIATIONS ON MUTUAL ARMS REDUCTION IN EUROPE; THE GROWING METWORK OF TRADE AND TECHNICAL COOPERATION ARRANGEMENTS-- ALL MARK AN UNDENIABLE IMPROVEMENT OVER THE SITUATION TEN, EVEN FIVE YEARS AGO. WE INTEND TO MAKE GENERAL SECRETARY BREZHNEV'S VISIT TO THE UNITED STATES LATER THIS YEAR AN OCCASION FOR FURTHER PROGRESS.

WE HAVE, AS WELL, MOVED TO FORGE A NEW RELATIONSHIP WITH THE PEOPLES' REPUBLIC OF CHINA. STABILITY IN ASIA AND PEACE IN THE WORLD REQUIRE A CONSTRUCTIVE RELATIOHIP WITH ONE-QUARTER OF THE HUMAN RACE. WE REMAIN COMMITTED TO THE GOALS OF THE SHANGHAI COMMUNIQUE PRESIDENT FORD WILL VISIT CHINA LATER THIS YEAR TO RE-AFFIRM THESE GOALS AND WORK FOR THE CONTINUING IMPROVEMENT OF OUR RELATIONS.

THESE CHANGES DO NOT MEAN THAT WE HAVE BECOME NEUTRAL IN THE STRUGGLE BETWEEN FREEDOM AND TYRANNY. WE KNOW THAT WE ARE DEALING WITH COUNTRIES WHOSE IDEOLOGY AND VALUES, AND NATIONAL INTERESTS CONFLICT WITH OUR OWN. BUT WE OWE OUR PEOPLE AND MANKIND AN UNTIRING EFFORT TO AVOID NUCLEAR HOLOCAUST AND FOSTER GENUINE SECURITY. MILITANT RHETORIC IS A POSE, NOT A FOREIGN POLICY. IF CONFRONTATION PROVES UNAVOIDABLE IN THE END, AMERICANS MUST KNOW THAT IT WAS A LAST RESORT.

THE PROCESS OF IMPROVING U.S.-SOVT RELATIONS IS A TWO-WAY STREET.YOUR GOVERNMENT WILL ALWAYS INSIST ON STRICT RECIPROCITY. IN THE LAST ANALYSIS, OUR OWN EFFORT AND EXERTION ARE THE ONLY GUARANTEE OF OUR INTERESTS; EXAGGERATE THE OTHER SIDE'S CAPABILITIES IF WE ATTRIBUTE EVERY SETBACK TO THEIR MACHINATIONS. MANY OF OUR PROBLEMS ARE SELF-IMPOSED, DETENTE CANNOT BE USED AS A SUBSTITUTE FOR OUR OWN EFFORTS. THIS GOVERNMENT WILL NOT PERMIT DENTE TO BE USED FOR BLACK-MAIL OR PRESSURE AS A COVER FOR SECTIVE EXPLOITA-

TION OF OPPORTUNITIES. BUT, FOR THE SAKE OF FUTURE
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GENERATIONS, NEITHER WILL WE FLAG IN OUR PURSUIT OF
PEACE.

FINALLY, THERE IS THE NEW AGENDA OF INTERNATIONAL
INTERDEPENDENCE-- ENERGY, RESOURCES, ENVIRONMENT,
POPULATION, THE USES OF SPACE AND THE SEAS. THESE ARE
PROBLEMS THAT CROSS NATIONAL BOUNDARIES, NO SOLUTIONS
ARE CONCEIVABLE WITHOUT INTERNATIONAL COOPERATION.
THESE ISSUES ARE THE SEEDS OF POLITICAL CONFLICT OVER
THE COMING GENERATION; THEY ALSO PRESENT THE INTERN-
ATIONAL COMMUNITY WITH A CHALLENGE TO ITS CAPACITIES
FOR VISION AND STATESMANSHIP.

THIS IS WHY I WANT TO SPEAK TO YOU TONIGHT ESPECIALLY
ABOUT THOSE PROBLEMS THAT ARE GLOBAL IN NATURE

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 04 OF 12 SECTO 06046

NODIS

AND MUST BE DEALT WITH ON A GLOBAL BASIS. WITHIN A
FEW MONTHS' TIME THERE WILL BE TWO MAJOR MEETINGS OF
THE UNITED NATIONS-- A SPECIAL SESSION OF THE GENERAL
ASSEMBLY IN EARLY SEPTEMBER DEVOTED TO THE ISSUES OF
CONCERN TO DEVELOPING NATIONS, AND THE 30TH REGULAR
SESSION OF THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY WHICH WILL AGAIN AD-

DRESS THE BROAD RANGE OF INTERNATIONAL PROBLEMS. AND SO I WANT TO USE THIS OCCASION TO PUT BEFORE YOU AND TO THE COUNTRIES THAT ARE MEMBERS OF THE UNITED NATIONS YOUR GOVERNMENT'S CANDID VIEWS OF THE PROBLEMS BEFORE THAT ORGAHIZATION AS WELL AS THE OPPORTUNITY IT CONFRONTS.

THE UNITED STATES AND THE UNITED NATIONS

THIRTY YEARS AFTER THE FOUNDING OF THE UNITED NATIONS, ITS PROMISE IS GREAT, ITS ACHIEVEMENT HAVE BEEN SUBSTANTIAL. BUT NOW AT THE MDMENT WHEN ITS MEMBERSHIP IS THE MOST UNIVERSAL, AND WHEN POLITICAL POWER AND INFLUENCE ARE MORE WIDELY DISTRIBUTED IN THE WORLD THAN EVER BEFORE, THE COHESION OF THE GLOBAL COMMUNITY IS SEVERELY TESTED BY THE CLASH OF IDEOLOGIES AND INTERESTS AND THE TACTICS OF CONFRONTATION. AS A RESULT, THE FUTURE UTILITY OF THE UNITED NATIONS HAS BEEN BROUGHT SHARPLY INTO QUESTION.

THE END OF THE SECOND WORLD WAR SWAS A MOMENT OF IDEALISM AND HOPE. A WAR AGAINST TYRANNY SEEMED TO
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VINDICATE THE RIGHTS OF MEN AND WOMEN EVERYWHERE. THE PROCESS OF DECOLONIZATION WAS ABOUT TO BEGIN. THE EXHAUSTION OF WAR AND THE NUCLEAR PERIL OF A NEW ONE GAVE REASON TO HOPE THAT NEW PATTERNS OF INTERNATIONAL BEHAVIOR COULD BE FASHIONED. THE LESSONS LEARNED FROM THE FAILURES OF THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS GAVE NEW PROMISE TO THE IDEALS OF COLLECTIVE SECURITY AND PEACEFUL SETTLEMENT OF DISPUTES. THE GREATEST SOURCE OF HOPE WAS THE ACTIVE PEACETIME INVOLVEMENT OF THE UNITED STATES IN INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS, AND IN SUPPORT FOR THE INTERNATIONAL BODY WHICH WE, INDEED, TOOK THE INITIA-TIVE TO CREATE.

WE MADE THIS COMMITMENT BECAUSE THE FUNDAMENTAL PREMISES ON WHICH THE UNITED NATIONS WAS FOUNDED ACCORD WITH LONG AND DEEPLY HELD IDEALS OF OUR COUNTRY-- THAT THE WAY OF FORCE AND DOMINATION SHOULD GIVE WAY TO ACCOMMODATION AND COOPERATION. WE HAVE RECOGNIZED THAT ONLY A BODY THAT IS VIRTUALLY UNIVERSAL CAN COPE WITH PROBLEMS OF TRULY GLOBAL DIMENSION. IF THE UNITED NATIONS SYSTEM DID NOT EXIST, THE CRISES THE WORLD NOW FACES WOULD SURELY BRING A CLAMOR FOR ITS CREATION.

BUT FOR THE UN TO BE EFFECTIVE A FEW FUNDAMENTAL FACTS MUST BE RECOGNIZED:

--THE UN IS NOT A WORLD GOVERNMENT-- IT IS AN ORGANIZATION MADE UP OF SOVEREIGN AND EQUAL STATES WHOSE DECISIONS ARE ARRIVED AT ON THE BASIS OF CONSENSUS;

--IT IS NOT THE PANACEA AND CURE-ALL WHICH ITS ZEALOTS CLAIMED IT TO BE. IT REFLECTS THE WORLD CONTEXT IN WHICH IT OPERATES: ITS COMPLEXITY, ITS DIVERSITY, ITS IMPERFECTIONS, ITS MULTIPOLARITY EAST AND WEST, SOUTH AND NORTH;

--AND ABOVE ALL IT IS NOT AN ENTITY APART FROM ITS MEMBERSHIP. ITS FUNDAMENTAL STRENGTHS, ITS FUNDAMENTAL WEAKNESSES, ARE A REFLECTION OF NATIONAL ATTITUDES AND INTERESTS, FOR IT IS AN ORGANIZATION IN WHICH EACH

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COUNTRY IS PURSUING ITS NATIONAL INTEREST WITHIN ITS INSTITUTIONAL FRAMEWORK.

ITS VERY EXISTENCE-- AND WE MUST RECALL THAT ITS PREDECESSOR, THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS, SURVIVED ONLY 17 YEARS WHILE THE UN HAS ALREADY REACHED THE MATURE AGE OF 30-- REFLECTS AT LEAST A MINIMAL COMMITMENT TO INTER-NATIONAL DIALOGUE, HOWEVER MULTIFARIOUS AND VARIEGATED. BUT IT ALSO IMPOSES IMPORTANT RESPONSIBILITIES.

THE UN WAS BORN IN THE GLOW OF THE ALLIED VICTORY, IN THE BELIEF THAT THE MAJOR POWERS WOULD CONCERT TOGETHER WITHIN THE FRAMEWORK OF THE UN SECURITY COUNCIL TO KEEP THE PEACE. IT HAS PERFORMED IMPORTANT, SOMETIMES VITAL SERVICES FOR THE WORLD COMMUNITY.

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NODIS

--IT HAS BEEN BUFFETED BY THE COLD WAR,

--IT HAS REACHED OUT TO ACCOMMODATE TO THE NEW ERA
OF OUTER SPACE,

--IT HAS ADJUSTED TO THE NEW AND AWESOME CHALLENGES
OF NUCLEAR TECHNOLOGY, THE UNIVERSALIZATION OF COM-
MUNICATIONS,

--IT HAS BEEN SHAPED BY CHANGES FROM BIPOLARITY TO
MULTIPLICITY, BY THE MORE ROUNDED TONES OF DETENTE,
AND THE OPENING OF THE DIALOGUE WITH THE PEOPLE'S
REPUBLIC OF CHINA,

--IT HAS HELD GUIDE THE PEACEFUL REVOLUTION OF
DEVELOPING COUNTRIES AND THEIR RISING EXPECTATIONS.

TIME AND AGAIN THE PEACEKEEPING ROLE OF THE UN
IN THE EASTERN MEDITERRANEAN, IN THE MIDDLE EAST, IN
THE CONGO, IN KASHMIR HAS PROVIDED AN INDISPENSABLE
THIRD-PARTY ROLE OBLIGATING THE NEED FOR DIRECT
MAJOR POWER INTERVENTION. WHILE THE PEACEKEEPING OPERA-
TIONS OF THE UN ARE A FAR CRY FROM THE CONCEPT OF COL-
LECTIVE SECURITY ORIGINALLY EMBRACED IN THE CHARTER,
THEY REPRESENT THE MOST ADVANCED MANIFESTATIONS OF
COOPERATION IN THE FIELD OF SECURITY THAT ARE POLITICAL-
LY FEASIBLE. IT WILL TAKE MUCH MORE HARMONIZING OF THE
INTERESTS OF THE MAJOR POWERS IF THE LIMITED PEACE-
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KEEPING OPERATIONS OF TODAY ARE TO GRADUATE INTO THE
COLLECTIVE SECURITY OPERATIONS ORIGINALLY SET DOWN IN
THE CHARTER.

THE UN HAS ALSO SERVED THE NATIONAL INTERESTS OF
THE U.S. A VEHICLE OF PEACEFUL CHANGE. EITHER IN
THE FORM OF SOME COMMISSION, OR MEDIATOR, OR AS A RESULT
OF THE EXPANDED ROLE OF THE SECRETARY GENERAL WITHIN
HIS BROAD RESPONSIBILITIES UNDER ARTICLE 99 OF THE
CHARGER, THE UN HAS PROVIDED THE KIND OF IMPARTIAL,
PACIFIC SETTLEMENT INSTRUMENTALITY FOR WHICH AN OC-
CASIONS THERE WERE NO SATISFACTORY SUBSTITUTES.

IN THE FIELD OF SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT, THE WORK OF THE UN HAS BEEN MOST SUCCESSFUL AND YET MOST UNHERALDED. IT IS IN OUR NATIONAL INTEREST TO PROMOTE A STABLE WORLD ENVIRONMENT. ITS SPECIALIZED AGENCIES HAVE BEEN EFFECTIVELY INVOLVED WITH NEARLY EVERY MAJOR AREA OF CONCERN TODAY: PEACEKEEPING IN CRISIS AREAS, ARMS CONTROL NEGOTIATIONS; NUCLEAR SAFEGUARDS; ASSISTANCE TO ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT, ORGANIZING INTERNATIONAL COOPERATION TO COMBAT HUNGER AND DISEASE, TO PROTECT THE ENVIRONMENT, TO LIMIT POPULATION GROWTH, TO PROMOTE AIR SAFETY AND PREVENT AIR HIJACKING, TO PROMOTE HUMAN RIGHTS AND THE EXPANSION OF INTERNATIONAL LAW OVER THE OCEANS AND OUTER SPACE AND THE CONDUCT OF NATIONS, AND PROTECTING THE PRICELESS CULTURAL HERITAGE OF MANKIND.

WE LEARNED EARLY ON THAT THE HOPES FOR STRONG UNITED NATIONS ACTION, PARTICULARLY IN THE FIELD OF PEACE AND SECURITY, WERE EXCESSIVELY HIGH. ITS WRIT CAN RUN NO FURTHER THAN THE AGREEMENT OF ITS MEMBERS. AND ON THE SWEEPING ISSUES OF WAR AND PEACE, IT IS THE GREAT POWERS, BY VIRTUE OF THEIR SIZE, MILITARY STRENGTH ECONOMIC POWER AND POLITICAL INFLUENCE, WHO BEAR THE PRINCIPAL RESPONSIBILITY FOR WORLD STABILITY AND SECURITY.

BUT THIS HAS NOT DESTROYED THE UN. FAR FROM IT.
AS THE GREAT POWERS HAVE LEARNED THE PRACTICES OF CO-
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EXISTENCE AND ACCOMMODATION, THE UN HAS FOUND RENEWED POSSIBILITIES OF EFFECTIVE ACTION.

WHAT CONCERNS AMERICANS TODAY IS THAT, PRECISELY AT THE MOMENT WHEN GREAT POWER POLITICS HAD SEEMED CONSISTENT WITH EARLY HOPES FOR THE UN, A NEW PHENOMENON APPEARED IN THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY AND SOME OF THE SPECIALIZED AGENCIES-- OF A NEW PATTERN OF IDEOLOGICAL CONFRONTATION, A NEW PATTERN OF BLOC VOTING, AND NEW ATTEMPTS TO MANIPULATE THE CHARTER OF THE UNITED NATIONS TO ACHIEVE UNILATERAL POLITICAL ENDS-- IN SHORT, TO USE THE UN AS A WEAPON OF CONFLICT INSTEAD OF AS A HEALER OF CONFLICT.

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NODIS

THE REASON FOR THIS STATE OF AFFAIRS IS TO BE FOUND IN THE EVOLUTION OF THE UN. IN ITS FIRST PHASE IT REFLECTED THE IDEOLOGICAL STRUGGLE BETWEEN THE U.S. AND THE SOVIET UNION; THEN THE UN CLEARLY SUPPORTED THE AMERICAN LEAD. TIME AND AGAIN IN THOSE DAYS THERE WERE 50 VOTES IN FAVOR OF THE U.S. POSITION AND 5 COMMUNIST BLOC MEMBERS AGAINST.

WITH THE AUGMENTATION OF THE MEMBERSHIP IN THE FIRST DECADE THE UN GRADUATED TO AN 80-PLUS MEMBERSHIP, THE DOMINANCE OF THE U.S. IN THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY NO LONGER WAS ASSURED. A STALEMATE OF THE TWO SIDES WAS SYMBOLIZED IN THE PHRASE "LET DAG HAMMERSKJOLD DO IT". THIS REFLECTED THE FACT THAT NEITHER POWER BLOC WAS ABLE TO IMPOSE ITS POSITION ON THE ASSEMBLY. IN THE MEANTIME, HOWEVER, THE SECURITY COUNCIL, WHERE POWER AND RESPONSIBILITY ARE MORE ACCURATELY REFLECTED, WAS ABLE TO ACT; THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY WHERE 80 OR 90 SMALL NATIONS, REPRESENTING ONLY ONE PERCENT OF THE ECONOMIC POWER IN THE WORLD, WAS MIRED IN STALEMATE. OUR POSITION IN THE COUNCIL WAS SUSTAINED, AND IT WAS ONLY THE SOVIET UNION THAT WAS REQUIRED TO CAST VETO AFTER VETO IN ORDER TO PROTECT WHAT IT CONSIDERED TO BE ITS VITAL NATIONAL INTERESTS.

BUT WITH THE QUANTUM JUMP TO THE PRESENT MEMBERSHIP OF 135 A NEW SITUATION DEVELOPED. THE U.S. ATTEMPT TO DISCOURAGE THE ADDITION OF SO MANY SMALL STATES FELL ON DEAF EARS FOR THE BADGE OF NATIONHOOD

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MEANT MEMBERSHIP IN THE UN. STRONG FEELINGS OF NATIONALISM REQUIRED THAT THE NEWLY EMERGING COUNTRIES PLAY A VISIBLE ROLE IN THE WORLD ORGANIZATION. THIS HAS PRODUCED MAJOR PROBLEMS ESPECIALLY IN THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY AND IN THE SPECIALIZED AGENCIES, WHERE THE DISPARITY BETWEEN POWER AND RESPONSIBILITY IS MOST PRONOUNCED. EVEN HERE WE MUST BE CAREFUL TO RECALL THAT THE POWERS OF THE ASSEMBLY ARE LIMITED TO RECOMMENDATIONS, THAT ITS DECISIONS ARE NOT COMPULSORY AS THEY ARE IN THE SECURITY COUNCIL, AND THAT STATES ARE LEFT VOLUNTARILY TO RESPOND TO THESE RESOLUTIONS BASED ON THEIR OWN DECISIONS AND CONSTITUTIONAL PRACTICES.

THE ASSEMBLY TODAY, LIKE OUR TOWN MEETINGS IN AMERICA, HAS BECOME THE TOWN MEETING OF THE WORLD. THE DANGER IS THAT THE LOPSIDED, OFTEN ARBITRARY RESULTS REFLECTED IN THE PRACTICE OF BLOC VOTING THREATENS TO DESTROY THE UTILITY OF THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY BOTH AS A SAFETY VALVE AND AS A MECHANISM FOR INTERNATIONAL DIALOGUE.

AN EQUALLY DEPLORABLE DEVELOPMENT IS THE TREND IN THE SPECIALIZED AGENCIES WHICH HAS POLITICIZED THE DECISIONS OF THESE ORGANIZATIONS AND DEFLECTED THEIR IMPORTANT WORK: THE INTERNATIONAL LABOR ORGANIZATION FROM THE WORK IT HAS BEEN DOING IN THE FIELD OF LABOR PRACTICES; THE WORLD HEALTH ORGANIZATION THAT HAS BEEN ACTIVELY INVOLVED IN ERADICATING DISEASE IN FAR FLUNG AREAS OF THE WORLD; UNITED NATIONS EDUCATION AND SOCIAL COMMITTEE THAT HAS BEEN TRYING TO PROMOTE THE ELIMINATION OF ILLITERACY; THE INTERNATIONAL CIVIL AVIATION ORGANIZATION THAT HAS BEEN PROMOTING STANDARDIZED AIR PRACTICES; THE WORLD METEROLOGICAL ORGANIZATION THAT HAS BEEN SEEKING TO IMPROVE WEATHER PREDICTION; THE FOOD AND AGRICULTURAL ORGANIZATION THAT HAS BEEN SO INSTRUMENTAL IN ATTACKING THE PROBLEMS OF FOOD SHORTAGES AND PRODUCTION.

FINALLY, THE UNITED NATIONS GENERAL ASSEMBLY AND ITS SPECIALIZED AGENCIES HAVE RECENTLY INDULGED IN
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PENALIZING MEMBER GOVERNMENTS FOR POLICIES DISLIKED BY THE MAJORITY BY EXCLUDING THEM FROM UN ACTIVITIES IN TOTAL VIOLATION OF THE UN CHARTER.

OUR CONCERN HAS NOTHING TO DO WITH OUR ATTITUDE TOWARD THE PRACTICES OR POLICIES OF THE PARTICULAR GOVERNMENTS IN QUESTION. WE BELIEVE THAT IF THE

ORGANIZATION BEGINS TO DEPART FROM THE BASIC PRINCIPLES
OF ITS CHARTER, WHERE SUSPENSION AND EXPULSION ARE
CLEARLY SPECIFIED AS PREROGATIVES OF THE SECURITY
COUNCIL, WE FEAR FOR THE INTEGRITY OF THE GENERAL
ASSEMBLY AS WELL AS OF THE SPECIALIZED INSTITUTIONS.
WHEN THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS LOST ITS UNIVERSALITY OF
MEMBERSHIP ITS DOOM WAS AT HAND. THOSE WHO SEEK TO

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MANIPULATE THE UN MEMBERSHIP BY PROCEDURAL DEVICES
MAY WELL INHERIT AN EMPTY SHELL.

THE UNITED NATIONS WAS MEANT AS AN EXPERIMENT IN
COOPERATION AMONG NATIONS. IT IS NO SERVICE TO THE IDEA
OF THE UNITED NATIONS AND NO CONTRIBUTION TO ITS
FUTURE TO GLOSS OVER ITS MISUSE. NOR CAN THE UNITED
STATES STAND BY PASSIVELY WHILE IDEALS WHICH WE BELIEVE
IN ARE THWARTED, AND WHILE AN INSTITUTION INTO WHICH
WE HAVE PUT SO MUCH FAITH IS SUBJECTED TO PRESSURES NOT
FORESEEN BY ITS FOUNDERS.

WE WILL OPPOSE THESE TENDENCIES WITH ALL OF OUR
STRENGTH BECAUSE THEY WILL EVENTUALLY UNDERMINE
IRREPARABLY THE EFFECTIVENESS OF THE ASSEMBLY AND THE
UN AS A WHOLE. WE HAVE LONG AGO LEARNED THAT RESTRAINED
PUBLIC DEBATE CAN HELP UNIFY AND HARMONIZE; UNRESTRAINED
DEBATE AND ADOPTION OF RESOLUTIONS IN WHICH A MAJORITY
RUNS ROUGHSHOD OVER THE MINORITY WILL CONTRIBUTE NOT

TO COOPERATION BUT TO CONFRONTATION. THIS IS NOT IN THE INTEREST OF THE OVERWHELMING MAJORITY OF THE MEMBERS OF THE UNITED NATIONS.

THE SMALLER MEMBERS OF THE ORGANIZATION SHOULD NEVER LOSE SIGHT OF THE FACT THAT THEY ARE MORE IN NEED OF THIS ORGANIZATION THAN THE LARGER POWERS SUCH AS THE UNITED STATES WHICH CAN MAINTAIN ITSELF EFFECTIVELY WITHIN OR OUTSIDE THE INSTITUTION. WAYS MUST BE FOUND

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FOR POWER AND RESPONSIBILITY IN THE ASSEMBLY TO BE MORE ACCURATELY REFLECTIVE OF THE REALITIES OF THE WORLD. WE HAVE BEEN, BY FAR, THE LARGEST FINANCIAL SUPPORTER OF THIS ORGANIZATION; BUT THERE IS DANGER THAT THIS SUPPORT WILL NOT BE FORTHCOMING UNLESS FAIR PLAY PREDOMINATES AND THE VIEWS OF THE NUMERICAL MAJORITY RESPECT THOSE OF THE MINORITY.

THERE HAS BEEN AN UNDERSTANDABLE PERIOD OF ADJUSTMENT IN WHICH THE NEWLY EMERGENT COUNTRIES COULD BEGIN TO ACCOMMODATE TO THE GIVE AND TAKE REQUIREMENTS OF A WORLD ORGANIZATION. BUT THERE IS A LIMIT BEYOND WHICH IT IS UNWISE TO PUSH VILIFICATION OF THE UNITED STATES, ITS FRIENDS OR THE PRINCIPLES THEY STAND FOR. THE EXERCISE OF CONFRONTATION CANNOT REMAIN THE STAPLE OF UN DEBATES. RESOLUTIONS ADOPTED BY BLOC VOTING, AGAINST THE COUNTRIES WHO ARE IN THE BEST POSITION TO GIVE THEM MEANING AND SUBSTANCE, WILL DEBASE THE COINAGE OF THE ASSEMBLY AND IN THE LAST ANALYSIS WILL DOWNGRADE THE ROLE OF THE SMALLER COUNTRIES AND THE BENEFITS THEY RECEIVE. AND THE AMERICAN PEOPLE ARE UNDERSTANDABLY TIRED OF THE INFLAMATORY RHETORIC, THE ALL-OR-NOTHING STANCE, THE DEMAND FOR "OUR" SACRIFICE WHICH SO OFTEN MARKS THE CONTEMPORARY DISCUSSIONS IN THE UN.

FOR ITS PART THE UNITED STATES BELIEVES IN THE UNITED NATIONS AND CONSIDERS IT USEFUL. WE RECOGNIZE THAT THE UN IN MANY WAYS MIRRORS THE REALITIES OF THE CONTEMPORARY WORLD. WE DO NOT WISH TO SEE THIS MIRROR BROKEN BECAUSE THE UN WITH ALL ITS LIMITATIONS AND IMPERFECTIONS REMAINS A NECESSITY. THUS WE WANT TO CONTINUE OUR FULL SUPPORT OF THE UNITED NATIONS, BUT NOT AT ANY PRICE. WE ARE PREPARED TO COOPERATE, BUT WE ARE DETERMINED TO DEFEND OUR PRINCIPLES. IF WE COME TO THE CONCLUSION THAT THE PURPOSES REFLECTED IN THE CHARTER OF THE UNITED NATIONS ARE BEING GIVEN A DISTORTED AND UNREALISTIC INTERPRETATION IN PRACTICE WE WILL HAVE TO ADJUST OUR PARTICIPATION TO THE NEW REALITIES.

THE UNITED STATES WILL NOT GIVE UP ON THE UNITED
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NATIONS. WE INTEND TO DO EVERYTHING IN OUR POWER TO
SUPPORT AND STRENGTHEN THE WORK OF THE UNITED NATIONS
IN ITS POSITIVE ENDEAVORS.

WE BELIEVE THAT THE UN IS FORTUNATE TO HAVE AT
ITS HELM AN OUTSTANDING LEADER IN THE PERSON OF
SECRETARY GENERAL WALDHEIM. HE IS TIRELESS AND TOTALLY
DEDICATED TO PEACE, FAIRNESS AND THE FUTURE OF THE
UNITED NATIONS. THE RAPIDITY AND EFFICIENCY WITH WHICH
HE ORGANIZED AND DESPATCHED PEACEKEEPING FORCES TO THE
MIDDLE EAST IN LATE 1973 WAS JUST ONE EXAMPLE OF THE
MANY SERVICES HE HAS RENDERED THE ORGANIZATION AND THE
INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY.

"THE UNITED NATIONS SYSTEM"

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NODIS

LET ME BRIEFLY REVIEW WITH YOU THE MAIN TASKS
BEFORE THE UNITED NATIONS SYSTEM, AND THE CONTRIBUTION

THAT WE BELIEVE IT CAN MAKE ON THE CRUCIAL ISSUES OF OUR TIME.

"THE PROBLEM OF PEACE" -- THE FIRST ISSUE ON THE WORLD'S AGENDA IS THE TRADITIONAL BUT OVERRIDING NECESSITY "TO SAVE SUCCEEDING GENERATIONS FROM THE SCOURGE OF WAR".

TO PREVENT REGIONAL CONFLICTS FROM ESCALATING INTO WAR, THE UNITED NATIONS SECURITY COUNCIL OVER THE YEARS HAS BEEN RESPONSIBLE FOR A NUMBER OF IMPORTANT ACHIEVEMENTS CONTRIBUTING TO THE CONTAINMENT OF REGIONAL CONFLICT. IN 1950, IT RALLIED TO THE CAUSE OF RESISTING AGGRESSION IN KOREA. IT PERFORMED USEFUL AND EFFECTIVE ROLES IN THE CONGO CRISIS IN THE EARLY 1960'S, IN CYPRUS FROM 1964 TO THE PRESENT, AND SEVERAL TIMES IN SEPARATING WARRING PARTIES IN THE MIDDLE EAST AND ON THE INDIAN SUB-CONTINENT.

THE MIDDLE EAST STILL POSES THE GRAVEST DANGER OF WAR AND ECONOMIC DISLOCATION. OUR NATIONAL INTERESTS REQUIRE CONTINUED MOVEMENT TOWARD RESOLUTION OF A CONFLICT THAT HAS FOR TOO LONG PLAGUED ARAB AND ISRAELI ALIKE, AND WHICH HAS MORE THAN ONCE BROUGHT THE WORLD TO THE BRINK OF WAR. SOME PROGRESS HAS BEEN MADE;
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BUT THE FUNDAMENTAL ISSUES REMAIN UNRESOLVED.

IN THIS QUEST, THE UNITED NATIONS HAS MADE A MAJOR CONTRIBUTION.

UNITED NATIONS TRUCE SUPERVISION PERSONNEL AND PEACE-KEEPING FORCES HAVE PLAYED AN IMPORTANT ROLE IN THE AREA SINCE THE CREATION OF THE STATE OF ISRAEL. THE STATIONING OF NEUTRAL UN FORCES WAS AN INDISPENSABLE ELEMENT IN WORKING OUT THE DISENGAGEMENT AGREEMENTS BETWEEN ISRAEL AND EGYPT AND ISRAEL AND SYRIA.

FURTHERMORE, THE SECURITY COUNCIL HAS PROVIDED A FORUM FOR INTERNATIONAL EFFORTS TO PROMOTE A PEACEFUL SETTLEMENT BETWEEN THE PARTIES. RESOLUTION 338 OF 1973 LAUNCHED A NEGOTIATING PROCESS WHICH HAS BORNE FRUIT AND PROVED DURABLE. RESOLUTION 242 OF 1967 STATED GENERAL PRINCIPLES WHICH REMAIN AN IMPORTANT FRAMEWORK FOR PERMANENT PEACE.

BUT THESE REAL ACHIEVEMENTS SHOULD NOT OBSCURE LONG TERM DANGERS.

AS THE MAJOR POWERS HAVE IMPROVED THEIR OWN RELATIONS, THE PROBLEM OF LOCAL CONFLICT TAKES ON A NEW AND INCREASING URGENCY.

THE WORLD HAS DEALT WITH LOCAL CONFLICTS AS IF IT WERE POSSIBLE TO CONTAIN THEM PERPETUALLY. BECAUSE EACH CRISIS ULTIMATELY HAS REMAINED LOCAL, THE WORLD COMMUNITY HAS GROWN COMPLACENT. BUT TOLERANCE OF LOCAL CONFLICT TEMPTS WORLD HOLOCAUST. IT WILL REQUIRE OUR UTMOST VIGILANCE TO SEE THAT SOME REGIONAL CONFLICT DOES NOT EXPLODE BEYOND CONTROL.

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FOR WHERE CONFLICT BETWEEN NATIONS ONCE DEVASTATED CONTINENTS, TODAY IT COULD DESTROY HUMANITY. PREVENTING LOCAL CONFLICT MUST BE A TOP PRIORITY OF THE UNITED NATIONS AGENDA.

ANOTHER PROBLEM TO WHICH THE WORLD COMMUNITY MUST TURN CONCERNS THE SPREAD OF NUCLEAR WEAPONS. THE WORLD HAS DEALT WITH NUCLEAR WEAPONS AS IF RESTRAINT WERE AUTOMATIC. THEIR VERY AWESOMENESS CHAINED THESE WEAPONS FOR ALMOST THREE DECADES; THEIR SOPHISTICATION AND EXPENSE LONG HELPED LIMIT THE NUMBER OF NATIONS WHICH COULD POSSESS THEM. BUT NOW POLITICAL INHIBITIONS ARE CRUMBLING. NUCLEAR CATASTROPHE -- WHETHER BY PLAN OR MISTAKE, ACCIDENT, THEFT OR BLACKMAIL -- IS

NO LONGER IMPLAUSIBLE.

THUS IT IS IMPERATIVE TO CONTAIN THE NUCLEAR ARMS RACE AMONG THE MAJOR POWERS. WE ARE NOW ENGAGED IN TRANSLATING THE PRINCIPLES AGREED TO IN VLADIVOSTOK BETWEEN PRESIDENT FORD AND GENERAL SECRETARY BREZHNEV INTO A NEW ACCORD BETWEEN THE UNITED STATES AND THE SOVIET UNION THAT WILL PLACE A LONG-TERM CEILING ON THE STRATEGIC WEAPONS OF BOTH SIDES.

AS WE STRIVE TO SLOW THE SPIRAL OF NUCLEAR ARMS, WE MUST WORK AS WELL TO HALT THEIR SPREAD. THIS REQUIRES BOTH POLITICAL AND TECHNICAL MEASURES. IN CONFIDENTIAL

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THESE AREAS THE WORK OF THE UNITED NATIONS HAS BEEN IMPORTANT AND COULD BE CRUCIAL.

THE NON-PROLIFERATION TREATY OF 1970 HAS BEEN A MAJOR PACT IN OUR EFFORT TO CONTROL THE SPREAD OF NUCLEAR WEAPONS. THE RECENT TREATY REVIEW CONFERENCE HELD UNDER UN AUSPICES, AND THE ADHERENCE TO THE TREATY OF ADDITIONAL COUNTRIES, HAVE BEEN USEFUL STEPS.

BUT A COMPREHENSIVE NON-PROLIFERATION STRATEGY ALSO REQUIRES STRENGTHENED SAFEGUARDS ON THE EXPORT OF NUCLEAR MATERIALS. THE RECENT OIL CRISIS ADDS FRESH URGENCY TO THIS TASK, FOR IT HAS MADE THE DEVELOPMENT OF NUCLEAR ENERGY ESSENTIAL FOR AN INCREASING NUMBER OF NATIONS. THIS MEANS WIDER AVAILABILITY OF MATERIALS -- SUCH AS PLUTONIUM -- AND OF EQUIPMENT WHICH MIGHT BE USED TO DEVELOP NUCLEAR EXPLOSIVES. THUS ALL INDUSTRIAL NATIONS SHARE A GLOBAL RESPONSIBILITY TO STRENGTHEN SAFEGUARDS ON THE EXPORT OF NUCLEAR MATERIALS. FUTURE GENERATIONS WOULD NEVER FORGIVE US IF COMMERCIAL COMPETITION CREATED THE CONDITIONS FOR A NUCLEAR HOLOCAUST.

THE UNITED STATES IS NOW ENGAGED IN CONFIDENTIAL DISCUSSIONS WITH A NUMBER OF OTHER NUCLEAR EXPORTING COUNTRIES. IN THIS TASK, THE WORK OF THE UN'S INTERNATIONAL ATOMIC ENERGY AGENCY IS VITAL. TO PREPARE FOR THE ANTICIPATED GROWTH IN THE SIZE AND COMPLEXITY OF WORLDWIDE NUCLEAR POWER PROGRAMS, THE UNITED STATES BELIEVES IT CRUCIAL THAT BOTH SUPPLIER AND USER NATIONS COOPERATE TO STANDARDIZE AND STRENGTHEN COMMON EXPORT REQUIREMENTS AND TO SUPPORT IEA SAFEGUARDS. THIS UN AGENCY CAN BE THE FOUNDATION FOR AN EFFECTIVE WORLD SAFEGUARDS SYSTEM CAPABLE OF MINIMIZING NUCLEAR RISKS WHILE FOSTERING THE APPLICATIONS OF PEACEFUL

NUCLEAR ENERGY. IN THIS AREA THE INTERNATIONAL
COMMUNITY FACES ONE OF THE MOST CRITICAL TESTS OF THIS
GENERATION.

"THE NEW AGENDA"

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IN THE LAST FEW YEARS THE WORLD ECONOMY HAS BEEN
FACED WITH UNPRECEDENTED SHOCKS AND STRAINS.

-- NATIONS HAVE SUFFERED BOTH SEVERE INFLATION AND
DEEP RECESSION ON AN UNPRECEDENTLY WIDE SCALE.
THESE CYCLES OF BOOM AND BUST -- PREVIOUSLY
LOCALIZED -- HAVE BEEN EXPERIENCED ON A GLOBAL
SCALE.

-- THE PRICE OF THE WORLD'S MOST ESSENTIAL
COMMODITY, PETROLEUM, HAS BEEN PRECIPITOUSLY
AND ARBITRARILY INCREASED, BURDENING THE
ECONOMIES OF ALL CONSUMING NATIONS AND IMPOSING
SEVERE HARDSHIPS ON THE POOREST.

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-- THE PURSUIT OF ECONOMIC GROWTH, ONCE AN UNQUESTIONED GOAL, NOW FACES NEW CONSTRAINTS, FOR EXAMPLE, THE NEED TO

PRESERVE AND IMPROVE THE ENVIRONMENT FOR FUTURE GENERATIONS AND THE IMPOSSIBILITY OF ANY ONE NATION ACHIEVING GROWTH IN ISOLATION FROM THE REST OF THE WORLD.

-- AND THE WORLD'S FOOD RESERVES HAVE DWINDLED PRECIPITOUSLY IN ONLY A FEW SHORT YEARS. UNLESS MASSIVE EFFORTS ARE MOUNTED, THE GAP BETWEEN POPULATION GROWTH AND FOOD PRODUCTION COULD BEFORE TOO LONG REACH DISASTROUS PROPORTIONS.

TO MEET THE ECONOMIC CHALLENGE, THE UNITED NATIONS, ORIGINALLY CONCERNED PRIMARILY WITH ISSUES OF PEACE AND SECURITY, HAS BEEN EVOLVING TOWARD AN EQUAL CONCERN WITH ECONOMIC ISSUES. THE CHARTER STATED A COMMITMENT "TO EMPLOY INTERNATIONAL MACHINERY FOR THE PROMOTION OF THE ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL ADVANCEMENT OF ALL PEOPLES." TODAY, ROUGHLY NINE-TENTHS OF EXPENDITURES WITHIN THE

UN SYSTEM RELATE TO ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL COOPERATION. WE ACCEPT AND WELCOME THIS EVOLUTION.

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IN SEPTEMBER, PRIOR TO THE REGULAR SESSION OF THE UN GENERAL ASSEMBLY, A SPECIAL SESSION OF THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY WILL FOCUS ON THE NEW GLOBAL ECONOMIC CONCERNs. THIS MACHINERY WILL BE AN EARLY AND IMPORTANT TEST: WILL THE DEVELOPING AND DEVELOPED WORLDS IDENTIFY COMMON GOALS AND SOLVE PROBLEMS TOGETHER, OR EXACERBATE DIFFERENCES? CAN WE TURN OUR ENERGIES FROM RHETORICAL BATTLES TO PRACTICAL COOPERATION? THE UNITED STATES WILL APPROACH THE SPECIAL SESSION WITH THE UTMOST SERIOUSNESS OF PURPOSE AND WITH CONCRETE PROPOSALS FOR ACTION IN KEY AREAS ACROSS A BROAD RANGE OF INTERNATIONAL ECONOMIC ACTIVITIES--SUCH AS TRADE AND COMMODITIES, WORLD FOOD PRODUCTION, INTERNATIONAL FINANCIAL MEASURES.

THE SPECIAL GENERAL ASSEMBLY WILL ALSO CONSIDER STRUCTURAL CHANGES TO IMPROVE THE UN'S CAPABILITIES IN THE FIELD OF ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT. A GROUP OF EXPERTS APPOINTED BY SECRETARY GENERAL WALDHEIM HAS JUST COMPLETED A STUDY OF POSSIBLE IMPROVEMENTS. WE WILL HAVE

SPECIFIC COMMENTS ON THESE RECOMMENDATIONS TO OFFER DURING THE ASSEMBLY DEBATE. WE WILL WORK EARNESTLY FOR POSITIVE RESULTS. BUT IF THE ANSWER IS CONFRONTATIONS AND BLOC PRESSURES, WE WILL HAVE NO CHOICE BUT TO SEEK TO PURSUE OUR OBJECTIVES IN DIFFERENT FORUMS.

THUS WE BELIEVE THAT THE DEEPEST CHALLENGE BEFORE THE TWO ASSEMBLIES WILL BE A QUESTION OF ATTITUDE AND PHILOSOPHY EVEN MORE THAN OF SPECIFIC PROPOSALS. IF NATIONS DEAL WITH EACH OTHER WITH RESPECT AND UNDERSTANDING, THE TWO SESSIONS THIS FALL COULD USHER IN A NEW RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE DEVELOPED AND DEVELOPING WORLD.

THOSE IN THE DEVELOPING WORLD SHOULD CONSIDER THAT TRUE DEVELOPMENT DERIVES FROM THE CREATION WITHIN A COUNTRY OF THE NECESSARY CONDITIONS FOR

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DEVELOPMENT. WITHOUT THIS BASE, OUTSIDE ASSISTANCE WILL PROVE INEFFECTIVE AND INTERNATIONAL COOPERATION CANNOT FOSTER ADVANCE. THEY MUST ALSO CONSIDER THAT PROGRESS REQUIRES THE INVESTMENT OF LARGE CAPITAL SUMS. THE DEVELOPING COUNTRIES HAVE AN ACUTE NEED FOR NEW CAPITAL, WHICH WILL NOT BE MET IF THEY ADOPT POLICIES WHICH DISCOURAGE INVESTMENT FROM ABROAD. THIS IS ALL THE MORE IMPORTANT BECAUSE THERE IS LIKELY TO BE SEVERE COMPETITION IN THE FUTURE FOR CAPITAL TO FINANCE INCREASINGLY COMPLEX AND COSTLY VENTURES.

THEREFORE A MUTUALLY BENEFICIAL INTERNATIONAL ECONOMIC SYSTEM IS INCOMPATIBLE WITH THE PERPETUATION OF CONFLICT BETWEEN GROUPS OF COUNTRIES DIVIDED BY ABSTRACT IDEOLOGY OR SLOGANS. THE FAMILY OF LESS DEVELOPED COUNTRIES INCLUDES BOTH PRODUCERS AND CONSUMERS OF ENERGY, IMPORTERS AND EXPORTERS OF RAW MATERIALS, AND NATIONS WHO CAN EITHER FEED THEIR POPULATION COMFORTABLY OR FACE THE SPECTRES OF FAMINE AND OVERCROWDING. THESE DIVERGENT INTERESTS MUST BE ACCOMMODATED AND REFLECTED IN PRACTICAL MEASURES. THEY CANNOT BE RESOLVED FROM THE RIGIDITIES OF BLOC POSITIONS.

AT THE SAME TIME, THE INDUSTRIAL WORLD MUST FACE THE FUTURE WITH A NEW ATTITUDE. THE INDUSTRIALIZED WORLD SHOULD CONSIDER THAT WE CANNOT EXPECT TO GAIN BENEFITS FROM OTHERS UNLESS WE OFFER EQUITY AND

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PARTICIPATION IN RETURN. FOR EXAMPLE, WE CANNOT COMPLAIN OF EXORBITANTLY HIGH PETROLEUM PRICES UNLESS WE SHOW UNDERSTANDING FOR THE CONCERN OF PRODUCERS OF RAW MATERIALS FOR STABLE PRICES OF OTHER MATERIALS. WE MUST EXPECT THE ECONOMIC OPERATIONS OF OUR COMPANIES ABROAD TO BE REGULATED BY HOST GOVERNMENT IN BEHALF OF ITS OWN PUBLIC INTEREST. IT IS SURELY IN OUR INTEREST, AND THE COMMON INTEREST, TO TAKE THE LEAD IN CREATING ENLIGHTENED INTERNATIONAL STANDARDS TO PROMOTE AN ENVIRONMENT OF MUTUAL BENEFIT, IN WHICH OUR INTERNATIONAL BUSINESSES CAN CONTINUE TO BE BOTH PROFITABLE AND BENEFICIAL TO THE COUNTRIES IN WHICH THEY OPERATE. WE WILL DEAL WITH THIS ISSUE MORE FULLY AT THE SPECIAL SESSION.

AND THE DEVELOPED WORLD MUST RECOGNIZE, FINALLY, THAT NOT ALL NATIONS ARE PROSPERING IN THE EXISTING ECONOMIC SYSTEM. SOME DEVELOPING COUNTRIES HAVE HAD FRUSTRATINGLY SLOW RATES OF GROWTH. FOR THEM, THERE IS NO COMFORTABLE MARGIN OF PROGRESS, BUT RATHER AN ABUNDANCE OF OBSTACLES AND A SURPLUS OF DESPAIR. WE CANNOT ESCAPE THE RESPONSIBILITY -- AND INDEED THE GENERAL INTEREST -- TO IMPROVE AND EXPAND AN ECONOMIC SYSTEM SO THAT ITS BENEFITS ARE MORE WIDELY SHARED.

THESE ARE THE MUTUAL PERCEPTIONS THAT ARE NEEDED FOR A NEW ERA OF COOPERATION. IF AMERICANS ARE TO BE TRUE TO OURSELVES AS A NATION, WE CANNOT TURN OUR BACKS ON ECONOMIC HARDSHIP AND THE DESPAIR AND RESENTMENT IT BREEDS.

"THE ROLE AND RESPONSIBILITY OF THE UN"

MORE THAN A QUARTER-CENTURY HAS PASSED SINCE THE GOVERNMENT AND PEOPLE OF THE UNITED STATES REJECTED ISOLATIONISM AND COMMITTED THEMSELVES TO THE UNITED NATIONS' CAUSE. OUR PARTICIPATION WAS AT TIMES MARKED BY UNREALISTIC HOPES AND EXCESSIVE CONCERN WITH WINNING VOTES. ENMESHED FOR MANY YEARS IN A STRUGGLE BETWEEN EAST AND WEST, WE OFTEN DOUBTED THE MORAL BASIS FOR THE CONCEPT OF NON-ALIGNMENT. BUT NOW THAT WE HAVE

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COME TO ACCEPT NON-ALIGNMENT, WE ARE FACED WITH THE IRONIC SITUATION THAT NATIONS WHICH ONCE CHOSE THIS STANCE TO SHIELD THEMSELVES FROM POWERFUL MILITARY BLOCS NOW ARE TENDING TO FORM A RIGID BLOC OF THEIR OWN, PURSUING POLICIES OF CONFRONTATION. THIS SERVES TO DIVIDE THE WORLD INTO CATEGORIES OF NORTH AND SOUTH, DEVELOPING AND DEVELOPED, IMPERIAL AND COLONIAL, AT THE VERY MOMENT IN HISTORY WHEN SUCH CATEGORIES HAVE BECOME IRRELEVANT AND MISLEADING.

DAG HAMMERSKJOLD ONCE PREDICTED THAT THE DAY WOULD COME WHEN PEOPLE WOULD SEE THE UNITED NATIONS FOR WHAT IT REALLY IS -- NOT THE ABSTRACT PAINTING OF SOME ARTIST, BUT A DRAWING DONE BY THE PEOPLES OF THE WORLD. AND SO IT IS -- NOT THE PERFECT INSTITUTION OF THE

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DREAMERS WHO SAW IT AS THE ONLY TRUE ROAD TO WORLD HARMONY; AND NOT THE EVIL INSTRUMENT OF INTERNATIONALISM AND WORLD DOMINATION THAT THE NEO-ISOLATIONISTS ONCE MADE IT OUT TO BE.

RATHER IT IS, LIKE SO MANY HUMAN INSTITUTIONS BEFORE IT, AN IMPERFECT INSTRUMENT -- BUT ONE OF GREAT HOPE NONTHELESS. IF THE WORLD ORGANIZATION IS TO FULFILL ITS PROMISE, IF THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY IS TO HAVE ANY REALISTIC HOPE, THEN CLEARLY THE DAY THAT DAG HAMMERSKJOLD FORESAW WILL HAVE TO COME SOON.

THE UNITED STATES, FOR ITS PART, REMAINS DEDICATED TO THE PRINCIPLES UPON WHICH THE UNITED NATIONS WAS FOUNDED. THE INSTITUTION CONTINUES TO SERVE A GLOBAL INTEREST. WE CONTINUE TO BELIEVE IT CAN BE A MIGHTY AND EFFECTIVE VEHICLE FOR PRESERVING THE PEACE AND BRIDGING THE GAP BETWEEN THE WORLD'S RICH AND POOR. WE WILL DO ALL WE CAN TO MAKE IT SO.

BUT WE CANNOT DO IT ALONE. FOR THREE DECADES NOW THE AMERICAN PEOPLE HAVE BORNE, IN ADDITION TO THE HEAVY BURDENS OF A VAST BILATERAL AID PROGRAM THE LION'S SHARE OF THE COSTS OF THE UN; THEY ARE PREPARED TO CONTINUE THE PRACTICE SO LONG AS THE INSTITUTION SERVES ITS ORIGINAL GOALS OF GLOBAL PEACE AND CONCILIATION IN ACCORDANCE WITH ITS CHARTER.

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LADIES AND GENTLEMEN, THE PAST DECADE -- AND PARTICULARLY THE PAST SEVERAL YEARS -- HAVE BEEN A DIFFICULT TIME FOR AMERICA. WE HAVE KNOWN THE AGONY OF INTERNAL DISSENSION AND POLITICAL TURMOIL, AND WE HAVE SEEN THE TRAGEDY OF SOUTHEAST ASIA. BUT OUR NATION HAS COME THROUGH ALL THIS, AND ITS MOST DIFFICULT CONSTITUTIONAL CRISIS SINCE THE CIVIL WAR, WITH ITS INSTITUTIONS INTACT AND ITS PEOPLE PROUD. AND WE HAVE SEEN, IN THE AFTERMATH OF VIETNAM, THAT THE WORLD STILL LOOKS TO US FOR LEADERSHIP IN PRESERVING THE PEACE AND PROMOTING PROSPERITY FOR ALL MANKIND.

BUT IF WE HAVE LEARNED NOTHING ELSE IN THE COURSE OF THE PAST DECADE, WE HAVE SURELY SEEN THAT --

STRONG AND PROSPEROUS AS WE ARE -- OTHERS MUST BE
PREPARED TO DO THEIR PART IN BUILDING THE BETTER WORLD WE ALL
SEEK FOR THE GENERATIONS THAT WILL COME AFTER US. THE PLACE
TO BEGIN THIS NEW EFFORT IS IN THE UNITED NATIONS. IT IS THERE
THAT EACH NATION, LARGE OR SMALL, RICH OR POOR, CAN -- IF IT
WILL -- MAKE USE OF ITS PARTICULAR GENIUS FOR THE BETTERMENT
OF ALL. IT IS THERE THAT NATIONS MUST REALIZE THAT
SELFRESTRAINT IS AN ESSENTIAL INGREDIENT FOR ACHIEVING ENDURING
MUTUAL BENEFIT. IT IS THERE THAT WE CAN ALL WORK TOGETHER TO
MAKE WORLD PEACE AND PROSPERITY A REALITY, AND PERHAPS, IN
THE END, TURN THE PARLIAMENT OF MAN INTO A TRUE EXPRESSION OF
THE CONSCIENCE OF HUMANITY.

2. END DRAFT.

KISSINGER

CONFIDENTIAL

NNN

Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptoning: X
Capture Date: 01 JAN 1994
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: DOCUMENTS, FOREIGN POLICY POSITION, BRIEFING MATERIALS, INTERNATIONAL ARBITRATION, CAT-A
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Draft Date: 11 JUL 1975
Decaption Date: 01 JAN 1960
Decaption Note:
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Authority: greeneet
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 28 MAY 2004
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1975SECTO06046
Document Source: CORE
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: n/a
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: AS 19751231 KISSINGER, HENRY A
Errors: N/A
Film Number: P850011-2375
From: SECRETARY BONN
Handling Restrictions: n/a
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1975/newtext/t19750764/aaaacezv.tel
Line Count: 1373
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM
Office: ACTION NODS
Original Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Original Handling Restrictions: n/a
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: NODIS
Page Count: 25
Previous Channel Indicators: n/a
Previous Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Previous Handling Restrictions: NODIS
Reference: n/a
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Authority: greeneet
Review Comment: n/a
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 11 APR 2003
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review History: RELEASED <11 APR 2003 by GarlanWA>; APPROVED <06 OCT 2003 by greeneet>
Review Markings:

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Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
06 JUL 2006

Review Media Identifier:
Review Referrals: n/a
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: GLOBAL CHALLENGE AND INTERNATIONAL COOPERATION
TAGS: PFOR, PEPR, US, (KISSINGER, HENRY A)
To: STATE
Type: TE
Markings: Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 06 JUL 2006